1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

575 887 521 travesty is a burlesque of the values which were held dear by the younger men who were still actively engaged in war and the ego-maintenance competition. As sorcery may be looked upon as one weapon of revenge used by the old men,[10] so the burlesqued coup counting may be interpreted as an equivalent compensatory mechanism.

Comanches of warrior age did not engage in coup-counting bouts in the manner described for the Cheyenne by Grinnell.

575 887 626 In a more serious way, the Smoke Lodge functioned as a trading post for gossip and ideas among the old men, much as did the general store in old New England and rural America.

Concerning matters of general tribal moment, the old men expressed their thoughts and apparently made them known to the public by letting the peace chief know their concensus. Their influence was advisory; it was designed to sway public opinion, but without direct power to mould public policy. Post Oak Jim properly tagged the old men in the Smoke Lodge by explaining, "they were just like a Chamber of Commerce." They could make talk and mayhap make opinion, but they could make no law. In some bands, however, they could definitely help the peace chief determine the time of camp moving.

That the old men in general, as did the peace chiefs in particular, acted as soothers of ruffled tempers, pacifiers of internal dissension, is well attested. It was an important factor in the totality of social regulation. And let it not be forgotten that in this role they were just as important in keeping disputes from reaching the breaking point as is the authorized guardian of the law in more complex societies. The chances are that they were more so.

575 887 In later days, the Smoke Lodge in the Antelope band became the butt of a pair of mischievous pranksters. Originally there was no foolishness, and the old men were respected. But two boys, Leader, and his pal, Through, were without respect or restraint. How the old men responded to their indignities is revealing.

● [754] [10] The role of sorcery in this respect has been nicely phrased by Professor Ralph Linton. "There is abundant evidence that among the Comanche the transition was often a difficult one for the individual. Warriors did not prepare for old age, thinking it a better fate to be killed in action. When waning physical powers forced them to assume the new role, many of them did so grudgingly, and those who had strong magic would go on trying to enforce the rights which belonged to the younger status. Such bad old men were a peril to young ones beginning their careers, for they were jealous of them simply because they were young and strong and admired by the women. The medicine power of the young men was still weak, and the old men could and did kill them by malevolent magic. It is significant that although benevolent medicine men might be of any age in Comanche folklore, malevolent ones were always old." Ralph Linton, *The Study of Man* (New York, 1936), p. 121.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

CRIMINAL OFFENSES

EXCESSIVE SORCERY

Much confusion in the study of simpler societies results from our common habit of identifying criminal law with so-called penal law. Primitive law cannot be fruitfully considered according to the type of punishment. Criminal law is the law of crimes, i.e., *public* wrongs or delicts; civil law the law of "private" wrongs or delicts: torts and breaches of faith. 121

A crime may in this sense be distinguished from a wrong so far as the consensus in the society does or does not show a feeling that the act in question is a harm to society *per se* rather than merely to an individual or particular sub-group. Thus violation of a norm becomes a crime when the sanction of force attached to it is applied by society or its recognized agents, the primary motive behind the sanction springing from a positive sense of general social injury or affront. But the sanctions involved may be no different from those observed to operate in the case of private wrongs. The line between crime and wrong is not a sharp one; commonly, any offense is part one, part the other. When there is no statutory or other explicit means determining where the responsibility for action shall rest, it is occasionally difficult to differentiate crime from wrong in any way; indeed, there may be no differentiation.

Sorcery in Comanche society was primarily the concern of the family of the person affected. It was for them to treat with the sorcerer or to engage a medicine man to effect the cure. Sorcery as a wrong is dealt with below (see Ritual and Evidence). It is also clearly established that sorcery engendered social consequences causing the entire society to react. Because sorcerers were persons with whom social intercourse was dangerous, to be known as a sorcerer meant that normal social relations were to some degree withdrawn. To be known as a bad sorcerer meant that a person was usually shunned to the point of ostracism. The evidence indicates that this ostracism was positive enough to cause the evil medicine man to live apart from people, taking his position a little way off from the camp as a social pariah.[1] From this it is fairly clear that general social sanctions were asserted along with the particular magical and social sanctions which were first applied in a case of sorcery. Public opinion—that sustained public disapproval of any act or series of acts in which we find the germ of criminal law—was always hostile to the sorcerer. After a long-time accumulation of public 754 ● 626

[1] That the sorcerer was specifically ostracized was affirmed in a generalized statement by That's It. The fact will be noted in application in the case given by Slope on page 79, and again in the quotation from Eagle Tail Feather contained on page 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

754 resentment a crisis could arise which focused all this resentment on the
626 sorcerer's unfortunate head, congealing public sentiment to direct and vigorous public action. When this point was reached, tort merged into crime.
626 The result was lynching. But such lynching was an act of social policy and
683 not the venting of mob hatred. The purpose and end can be seen to be the same as in many of those outbursts of fury which occur in our own society, but the temper was different. In our society lynchings are frequently associated with the outraged feeling that the "law" will not operate severely enough or that it may be evaded. Comanche lynchings were deliberately executed by spontaneous, but stated, social agreement in the absence of any other established procedure. This was a movement towards a higher juridical level; ours is a relapse. Finally, the crime of which the Comanche victim was guilty was rarely indeed *an* act; it was rather the acquired status of "publicly dangerous person," akin to our recent conception of Public Enemy No. 1. History and reputation made the status; danger, or the sorcerer's old age, or loss of grip furnished the motivation; any given particular outrage was at last a fulminating cap upon the charge.

627 Comanche lynching was apparently not of frequent occurrence. It could
683 not be called a *predictably* established practice. Our records are limited to three accounts of such an event, though most Comanches will formulate the generalization that evil medicine men were killed by the people. These accounts were explicit and to the point, leaving no doubt as to their being definite Comanche reactions. It cannot be stated with surety that they are not all versions of the same incident.

Case 20. Excessive Sorcery: People vs. (?)
Informant: Post Oak Jim

"There was a nice young man got bewitched by an old Beaver medicine man; he was wasting away. Someone asked another medicine man to find out what was wrong with the boy. This second medicine man told them about the sorcery the Beaver man had made. He also told them that that same old man was the cause of other cases like that.

"When this was learned, all the men in the band had a conference at which they decided to kill the sorcerer. They made believe they were going to have a curing for the sick boy. They set up a Beaver lodge and put the sick boy in it. Then some of them went and smoked with the sorcerer and asked him to come to perform the Beaver ceremony cure for the boy. He accepted the smoke and came to the lodge. The people went inside, but they left two young warriors outside the lodge to kill the medicine man when he came out after the ceremony was over.

"Later on, he came out and started for home with a small boy as companion. When they had got half way home, and the women were all asleep, the two warriors sent the little boy away and killed the medicine man."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 20a
Informant: Slope

627x
683

"An evil medicine man lived among the band called Those Who Move Often. He was so hated by the people that he finally moved away. He went west and there located with another band. After he was there awhile, a man got sick. Another medicine man took the cure and saw that it was this evil man from the Those Who Move Often who had caused the sickness.

"The people got together and plotted to kill the fellow. They arranged for him to doctor a sick person—then they would kill him as he came from the tent. They did it just as they had planned. Just as he was stepping over the bottom part of the tipi door they shot him with bow and arrows. He made one big jump and fell dead on his face."

Case 20b
Informant: Talker

"How Gawky, the evil medicine man, died. He bewitched all the Those Who Move Often, old and young, men, women, and children; he was about to exterminate them. He placed a curse on a rich man. That man died. It was found out that it was Gawky who had cursed him.

"People talked this thing over; they said, 'There is not much we can do with Gawky; we can't fight him. The only thing for us to do, the sure thing, is to cause him to break his tabu.' His forbidden thing was the eating of any food cooked on a long stick—a spit.

"Someone invited him to dinner where it had been arranged to put a spit with meat upon it (just as was forbidden) under the robe on which he was to sit. He sat right on it.

"He ate his dinner and left.

"That night a voice was heard to cry, 'Gawky is dying.' 'What is he dying of? He can't; he is invincible.' Then Gawky spoke out, 'Nothing can save me; nothing can cure me. Through my rectum into my intestines has gone this forbidden spit. I am not going to get well.'

"He died. And after he died he became an evil spirit, but it ended sorcery among the Those Who Move Often. Just the contact of the spit had entered him magically and killed him.

"Bad medicine men become evil spirits."

What we see reflected in these cases is: (a) specific delegation of power to individuals by community agreement in order to rid society of a menace, (b) group slaying of the public enemy after community agreement (i.e., lynching). This is what made of excessive sorcery a crime.

Though not an historical case, one epic battle of sorcerers in legend is pertinent in the exposition of Comanche attitudes towards sorcery. 754

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

754 *Case 21. Sorcery Contest*
Informant: Breaks Something

"At one time some Comanches and Cheyennes were camped near each other. Among the Cheyennes was an evil medicine man who was using his power to kill people. When a certain Comanche medicine man heard of it, he decided to go over and see him. So he mounted his horse and rode to the sorcerer's camp. When the Cheyenne came out to greet him, he said he had come to visit and would like to smoke.

"The Cheyenne invited him in and seated him on the south side of the tipi next to the sun, taking the place on the north side himself. The host then took his long pipe, filled it, and lighted it with a coal from the fire. He politely asked his guest how he would like the pipe tendered to him. The Comanche said that any way was all right. He accepted it with two hands and inhaled four times. On the fourth puff he felt some poison enter his body, but he said nothing; he blew in the pipe and handed it back.

"Then the Comanche felt of his belly and blew a yellow-hammer feather out of his mouth. He offered it to the Cheyenne saying, 'What do you mean by this? I found it in your pipe stem!' The Cheyenne told him he could do whatever he wanted with it.

"The Cheyenne now took his turn to smoke. He took three puffs, and on the fourth he felt a pain in his side. Wiggling about, he blew until he blew an eagle feather out into his hand. Looking at his guest he said, 'What do you mean by this?'

"The Comanche looked innocent and answered that he knew nothing about the feather: since the pipe belonged to the Cheyenne, he presumed that the feather did too. The Cheyenne gave it to his adversary, and the smoking continued.

"This time the Comanche smoked; on the fourth puff he blew a black bug out of his mouth into his hand. 'What is this?'

" 'I don't know; it must be yours.'

" 'Not mine; this pipe belongs to you.' And the Comanche gave the bug to the Cheyenne, passing the pipe to him, too.

The Cheyenne again smoked. This time after the fourth puff, he blew a tarantula out of his mouth. 'What is this! See this tarantula of yours!'

" 'No, no. That pipe is yours; you must have put it there.'

"And again the Comanche smoked. This time he blew out a cockle burr. 'What is this? Look at this thing from your pipe!'

"But when the Cheyenne took his fourth turn, he had a mighty pain. He blew and blew, but he couldn't blow out the cause of the pain. It was caused by a barrel cactus put in the pipe by the Comanche's medicine.

"The Comanche arose. Thanking the Cheyenne for a very pleasant day, he went home. No sooner had he reached his camp than he heard cries from the Cheyenne camp. Their medicine man had died. The cactus had stuck in his throat.

"The next day some Cheyenne came to the Comanche medicine man bringing a horse loaded with gifts in appreciation for killing that sorcerer."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

In a variant of this legend given by Eagle Tail Feather the plot structure is identical, but the scene is laid in an Arapaho camp where "the Arapaho medicine man, who was hated by his people, lived alone with his wife to the east of the camp." In the case of the Cheyenne as presented in the version given above we have clearly a reading of Comanche attitudes into the case as Cheyenne attributes. The Cheyennes, so far as field study could determine it, did not possess the sorcery complex.

To sum up sorcery as a crime: Expressed attitudes and the instances cited indicate that sorcery was a socially disruptive power, looked upon with social disapproval. Isolated instances of sorcery were handled as offenses against individuals, though there was no single established social machinery for the need. The diffuse sanctions intrinsic in all social relations were always pressing upon the person who used his medicine powers for bad ends. Such a person was dangerous and social intercourse was withdrawn, eventually leading to overt ostracism and a kind of imposed segregation of the pariah on the edge of the camp. (This segregation seems to have been self-assumed in that there does not appear to be any evidence that the sorcerer was told by anyone that he had better move out. We take it that he was simply frozen out.) Some possessors of medicine powers were compelled by that very power to use it on other people to protect themselves from the ravages of that power. Such excessive and indiscriminate use of power became a social menace not to be tolerated and the result was on occasion a deliberate formation of a social policy to meet the situation. People decided that such a person must die and then laid out a plan as to how the execution could be effected. This was done through the medium of a seemingly dispassionate execution through delegates.

The scarcity of cases of this sort leads to two alternative conclusions: either (a), there was not much use of sorcery attributed cumulatively to individuals; or (b), the accumulated irritation against the users of black magic did not often reach the point where it precipitated direct action on the part of the band. This would reflect either the lack of geared machinery for moving society against public offenders or that the Comanche failed to get obsessive about sorcerers.[3]

INDIVIDUAL ACTION DURING THE COMMUNAL HUNT

In approaching consideration of the rules of the communal buffalo hunt, we might look with expectancy towards something more definite. For it is at this point that the tendency to evolve a definite political expression of

[3] Professor Ruth Benedict observes, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

concerned. Infractions of tabus which endangered the community were foreign to the Comanche mind. Hence any idea that crime and punishment must spring from tabu proves in this instance sterile. It was the holder of the medicine, not the community, who suffered if the strictures of associated tabu were overlooked. 771

With this, however, we have not slammed the door on the possibility of supernatural admixture in law. Among the Comanches we find it in sorcery. 754 ●

The Comanches made no basic distinction between a medicine man (shaman) and sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil. In a tribe where the majority of adults (especially males, but also women) held some medicine, those who were recognized as medicine men were those who possessed at least one *outstanding* thaumaturgic power. To be "evil" was to use one's power to the damage of the well-being of a fellow tribesman. Hence, the sorcerer was tagged "evil medicine man." Correlatively, to be "good" was to use one's powers to advance one's well-being in hunting or war without harm to others of the in-group, or to use the power beneficently for the curing of others in the band or tribe. A shaman could be wholly good; he could be good and evil; he could be almost totally bad. It depended on the path he followed.

One interesting psychological feature of Comanche sorcery was a not unusual compulsion to use medicine powers against some innocent victim without—even contrary to—the conscious desire to do harm on the part of the shaman. Should a dream "tell" a medicine man to cause the illness of another person, it became imperative that it be done. Failure to so function meant death to the shaman; his power turned on him. "No Bed could not help herself," observed She Invites Her Relatives, "The dream came. She *had* to put the curse on the person dreamed of. Else the sickness would come on her."

The sorcerer's curse was done by "throwing" a foreign substance into the body of the victim. It was done in secret. The exception was when sorcerers gathered together to do battle in tournaments of competitive skill. Unless the sorcerer's medicine was unusually powerful, he had to operate in the near vicinity of his victim, for it was difficult to throw the substance far. Feathers were the choicest medium; thorns, cacti, crystals and spiders were among the varied possibilities. Sorcery thus had some tangible vehicle. The projecting power was worked up with songs and prayer such as had been revealed to the sorcerer by the guardian spirit.

Sorcery was aggression. It was violent trespass against the individual's right to life and well-being. Here is the conflict situation. To meet it recognized measures were at hand. 754 627^

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

The diplomatic game of threatening sanctions was played in Comanche law: there was much bluster, but we know of only two cases in which actual physical harm was done the sorcerer (aside from the planned executions above). One of these was a "lynching," the other a murder, but done within the family. In the case of No Bed, the sorceress whose story is recounted below, the attempted violence was circumvented. Indeed, so circumspect was the handling of sorcerers with mundane techniques, so much was it front without substance, that such a terrorizer as Looking After His Son could bully the would-be prosecutors into submission.

Case 24. Sorcery: ? vs. Looking After His Son
Informant: Eagle Tail Feather

"Looking After His Son was a boastful medicine man always talking about his power. Whenever he went among the people it was his boast that he could kill anyone within a vicinity of a quarter mile, should that person raise his displeasure. After all this big talk people began to get suspicious of him.

"One day a young man fell sick. People took to muttering about Looking After His Son. Rumors flew about until finally Looking After His Son heard that people were accusing him of the deed. He heard that the relatives of the sick youth were threatening to kill him.

"It was not long before a relative of the youth who lay ill came to call at the sorcerer's lodge. Looking After His Son welcomed him. 'Hello, friend,' he said. 'I am happy to see you here. Sit down. We will tell stories tonight.'

"At midnight the visitor made excuses to go. The medicine-man motioned him to keep his place. 'I have a certain question to ask. You must accept it,' he ordered. 'I understand your relatives are saying I cause them death. They are making threats at me. Now you look out. Before you leave here, swear that you will stop them, or else—. Well, I'll fix you for certain.'

"The man swore.

"Early the next morning, without stopping for breakfast, he sought out his kinsmen. He pleaded with them for his own sake not to offend the sorcerer further. They heard his plea, and deemed it wisest to acquiesce; they said nothing more about Looking After His Son after that."

It was the opinion of the narrator that Looking After His Son was as guilty as guilty can be. Yet what could be done about it? Sorcery was the the affair of the relatives; they shirked it with cold feet. The sorcerer's bold front and the power behind it were his impunity.

A comparable outrage was recorded from Carrying Her Sunshade. It was a situation in which she figured as a girl, thus placing it shortly before 1860.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

X627
●754
683

Case 25. Sorcery: Salt Worn Out vs. Robe On His Back
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

"Robe On His Back propositioned Salt Worn Out's wife and she turned him down. Robe On His Back did not like that one bit; so he brooded over it, and settled on revenge. His medicine centered in a black kerchief. He worked on this handkerchief with his spells until it brought a curse on Salt Worn Out's little daughter. She bled from her lungs.

"My husband was a medicine man, so Salt Worn Out brought his daughter to us. My husband worked and worked, but he got no results.

"Finally he called on me, 'Breathe four times on her,' he commanded. I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed, and I breathed—behold! The blood stopped flowing. 'Again,' ordered my husband. I breathed, and I breathed and I breathed, and I breathed. He had me do it over and over until the girl felt better.

"Next he advised Salt Worn Out to move his tipi over to ours, so we could doctor during the night.

"For quite awhile my husband had me repeat my medicine over the girl. It was good medicine, but she never got completely well. We had to find out who was causing the illness, so my husband took out his copper bowl painted red about the rim. He filled his bucket with water, and sang his songs. Then he called us all to look into the water. What did we see but Robe On His Back holding his black handkerchief! Every time he fluttered the kerchief, the girl coughed blood. My husband called the girl's mother to look in, too. 'You have refused Robe On His Back,' he told her. 'I have seen this thing' (in his dreams). This was the proof of all the trouble.

"Salt Worn Out was a coward. He was afraid to protect his daughter. He shrank from approaching Robe On His Back. He shrank from even so much as begging him to remove his evil medicine. Never did he think of threatening him. Instead he stayed with us for a whole year to keep our help and protection. Finally, he decided to move away; they drifted off to some other band where they hoped they could escape from Robe On His Back's hatred."

In this instance the issue of guilt was not put to the test because of Salt Worn Out's cowardice. Here there was not even a preliminary blustering before the back-down. Robe On His Back was free from legal molestation, showing again how distinctly sorcery was a tort. Success in handling supernatural aggression hinged, like success in prosecuting the aggressor against marital rights, upon relative power—either supernatural, or physical and moral. In handling sorcery, however, it was not so easy to attain a balance. Especially is this true of the second phase of anti-sorcery procedure—that which was followed when counter-medicine had failed. We have seen the situation in which the case proceeded to its perfect legal end, that in which Barking Buttocks appealed to the conditional curse. We have revealed two instances in which fear of the aggressor stilled the aggrieved. We were able to record but two cases wherein actual physical coercion was attempted against the body of the sorcerer.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

Case 26. Sorcery: ? vs. No Bed
Informant: Carrying Her Sunshade

627*
754
683

"No Bed was a powerful medicine woman. Her power was one of the strongest in the tribe. She shared it with her daughter, whom she had initiated into its mysteries. Quite a few rules went with the medicine, such as the tabu against yellow paint. Another was that whomsoever they dreamed about, on that person they must put the curse. If they did not make bad medicine against that person, they themselves would sicken and die!

"No Bed dreamed one night. She dreamed about a young man in the camp, a young man well-liked by every one. Even No Bed liked him. Nevertheless she made her medicine. Pretty soon the poor boy fell sick. The wasting-away sickness was upon him.

"Everyone thought about No Bed. Sure enough, the medicine man on the case saw she was guilty, so he had them send for her. She refused to go at first. 'Why do you come for me?' she complained. 'I have no power. What do they want me for?'

"The messenger begged her. 'Do come before it is too late,' he implored. 'You can remove the curse if you come now. Before long it will be too late.'

"Well, she would go along, she said. But all the time she kept repeating over and over that she had nothing to do with it and could be of no possible use. She was still wagging her tongue as they approached the tipi, when they heard a wail emerge. She stopped. A great chorus of mourning came out from the sick lodge. The boy was dead!

"No Bed took to her heels and ran. Her escort seized a spear, and charged after her. She sped for the lodge of Grey Flat Lying Object, who was a chief of the Quick-Stinger band. She rushed through his door, and throwing her arms about him, she begged for protection.

" 'Well, what is the matter, then?' queried Grey Flat Lying Object. No Bed babbled out her story. 'Yes,' the chief assured her, 'I will give you protection as far as I can. Now sit down; let us talk this thing over.'

"Grey Flat Lying Object recognized her danger. He knew she would be killed if she stayed in camp; he could not protect her forever. He decided to spirit her away until the trouble blew over. No Bed assented, so her daughter was sent for. The two stayed hidden in the chief's tipi until dark, when Grey Flat Lying Object led them out of the camp and away. No Bed left her tipi standing with all her belongings so as to fool the people. By hard travelling they found a camp of Caddo in the east. Grey Flat Lying Object left them there, and returned home.

"No Bed and her daughter lived for many years among the Caddo. The daughter is still living; she is a Christian now, but she still has her medicine. It is no longer so bad now; times have changed.

"No Bed died some years ago. After she came back to our people she befriended an old man. She cooked him food and helped him. But that was because she was going to put her bad medicine on him. A certain medicine man dreamed about this. He hurried to warn the old man of his danger. 'There is only one way you can save yourself,' he told him. 'The next time you see that old woman, put some yellow

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

x627
0754
683

paint on yourself in some secret place.' When this happened, it broke No Bed's tabu against yellow paint—she was killed in the end by her power."

Here is a case where we see a chief (Grey Flat Lying Object was one of the great Comanche war leaders) taking the role of the champion in a new situation, this time acting for the defendant. We *should* know something of his motives in exposing her cause. We found no evidence of institutionalization of a right of asylum.

[83]

The next and the only other case we have in which a *real* attempt was made by relatives of a sick person to do direct violence to a sorcerer comes from Dr. Mirsky.

Case 27. Sorcery: Chew Up vs. Bull Roarer
Informant: Talker

"There was a man named Chew Up. He was a Yep-Eater, and had just returned from a war-raid. He asked his father, 'What is that tent doing there?' (pointing to a tipi close to his own).

"His father said, 'Your brother is very ill.'

" 'And what may be the matter with him?' he asked.

" 'Some one has shot him with his medicine. Some one put his curse on him.'

"Chew Up went into his father's tipi; there he found his mother getting food ready for him. His father followed him in and addressed him. 'Son, there is something I cannot keep from you. I cannot keep you in darkness. Bull Roarer is doctoring your brother. Bull Roarer is a very great medicine man—his diagnosis is always right.' The father told him what Bull Roarer had discovered.

"At that moment the mother's brother of Chew Up entered. 'Nephew,' he hailed him, 'you have returned. I overheard you talking. That is why I came in.' That was all he said; taking his leave, he went to the sick man's tipi.

"Chew Up rose and followed him. He found the uncle sitting at the foot of his brother's bed. Chew Up gave sympathy to his brother, encouraging him with promises of his recovery. Then he turned to his uncle. 'You are a medicine man who can doctor. Why don't you doctor him?' he demanded. To his uncle's wife who sat at the far end of the tipi he then gave an order to leave. As soon as she was out the door, he drew his knife.

" 'Oh,' cried the uncle, 'I have failed. I cannot relieve him.'

"As he said that, Chew Up seized him by the hair, and pushing down his head, he stabbed his uncle twice. Then he went out. He had killed him.

"He went striding back to his father's tipi, where his mother was still cooking. 'Mother,' he said, 'I have killed your brother. Now go tell your sister-in-law what I have done to her husband. But tell her this, she is not to mourn for him.'

"His mother went to her sister-in-law with his bidding. 'Come,' she directed her, 'we will get your husband's body out of the tipi.'

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"As soon as they started to carry out the corpse, Chew Up followed after them, repeating his warnings to his aunt. 'Don't wail,' he commanded the bereaved woman. 'If you wail for him, I will kill you. Go bury him, and when you have done it, go back to your own people.'

"The evil medicine man was buried unmourned.

"That night Chew Up himself went to stay with his elder brother. The young man was so sick that he could drink no water—always the sign of a person at death's door. All night long Chew Up held his brother in his arms, until—just as the white dawn came—he died. They wailed for him, and they mourned. The father of Chew Up was a war chief and a rich man. Chew Up explained, 'I am but following the pattern set by my father.'

"What lay behind it all was this: the medicine man uncle had caught his nephew lying with his wife—not in actual intercourse, however. For this reason he had put the curse on him. *Because the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it.* (Author's italics.)

"Just as all this quieted down, Chew Up's other elder brother came home from war. (Chew Up was the youngest, the one who died was the middle brother.) The eldest brother admonished Chew Up. 'You have committed the unheard-of thing: you have killed our uncle.'

"And Chew Up replied, 'Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?'

"To this his elder brother retorted, 'You have done something terrible. You shall not live long.'

"Chew Up answered back, 'I am going to live a long time.'

"The elder brother was killed not long after, and Chew Up lived to be an old, old man."

The thing that strikes hardest in this history of Chew Up is the way in which it emphasizes so completely the non-criminal nature of homicide. But it is also breath-taking in how fast it moved through the ordinary middle-stage of beseeching the sorcerer to remove the curse. "You are a medicine man, why don't you doctor him?" Not an entreaty, but a sarcasm. Then the death-blow. Here the sorcerer faced a tribal strong-man, a man of wealth and position with the pattern of family pride to uphold. How differently the law worked with such a man on the aggrieved's end of the stick than when it was put in the hands of Salt Worn Out to wield for justice's sake!

Comanche law, because it was a personal and a kin law, *did* swing upon valor and guts. It was a matter of out-weighing whatever power the offender had on his side. In cases of sorcery this was usually done in the attempt to throw counter-medicine into the scale. But unless the counter-medicine was stronger in its supernatural power than the medicine behind

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

went over to her mother and told her what had happened. It would be a good time to get that other doctor right away, he said, because the woman's husband was on the war path and would not know about it. The mother agreed and they went to see the other doctor.

"This medicine man considered the matter and then said that he could cure her. He told them it was good they came while the trouble was yet in the early stages, for it would be incurable later on. If they wanted the cure done, he told them there were two choices. Either they would have to sacrifice someone else in the family, or else provide eight horses to be killed, for he could not stop the disease; he could only shift it to something else. He said he would prefer horses because he would rather not take the life of a human being. They agreed it should be horses. They went away and the medicine man worked up his power and performed his ritual. Before long the band broke camp and moved. This happened before the husband had returned from the war path. While they were driving the eight horses along, one of them suddenly dropped dead. They left him lying, and before long another one collapsed. Before they got to the next camp-site every one of the eight horses had fallen, one after the other.

"Then the mother and daughter rejoiced, for the doctor told them that if the horses did not die, it was a sign that he could not cure her of the curse which was upon her. Payment, he had said, could be in anything except horses. When the husband returned from the raid they told him how they had broken camp and lost eight horses on the trip, though no one knew how it had happened. That was all the deluded husband ever knew."

Indeed, as Professor Malinowski has so cogently shown for the Trobriand Islanders, "a supernatural sanction need not guard a rule of conduct with automatic effect."[10]

On the other hand, there were other ways in which resourceful husbands who had the proper medicine could lay a sorcery trap to catch an erring wife. How frequently this was done we do not know. From all accounts it was not very necessary, for all Comanches will gravely assure you that medicine men did not have much trouble with their wives. The women were afraid of the powers of such especially endowed spouses and decorously controlled their behavior accordingly. Even so, a case not without its humor was recorded, and is told with great relish by the Indians.

Case 31. Adultery
Informant: That's It

"There was a medicine man who had three wives, sisters to one another. He was suspicious of the actions of his favorite wife, who was the eldest. This man wanted to go to the Smoke Lodge for the evening, but would not trust that wife, so he put an arrow with medicine powers under the bed, and left.

[10] B. Malinowski, *Crime and Custom*, p. 81.

1: Hoebel E-5 (1933) 1940 NO6 Comanche NO6

"When he came home after the smoking was done, he found two people in the bed. One was his wife, and the other a young brave. The brave asked the pardon of the medicine man. What could he do? He was in the uncomfortable circumstances of being unable to separate from his paramour. He wildly offered the husband anything that might be required for his release.

"The husband turned on his heel and went outside. He got a switch. With this in his hand he entered the tipi again and gave the lovers a thorough dusting. After a while he wanted to go to bed. But the pair was still lying there, unable to get loose. So, calling on another of his wives, the medicine man ordered her to help him drag the luckless lovers outside the tipi. He pulling on the man, the wife upon the woman, they dumped the couple on the ground and left them.

"When morning came the parents of the young brave were about to move camp and became concerned with their boy's absence. Scouring through the camp to find him, they came upon their youth—attached still to the woman just as the irate husband had left them. Seeing this, the boy's father went to the medicine man and begged him to set the youth free.

"The husband refused. He said he loved his wife and he wanted her to get enough of it.

"Finding his own entreaties of no avail, the father went to some warriors of great influence and begged them to intercede. They went to the medicine man and offered him anything he might want to withdraw the charm. After this representation the medicine man consented; he went into the tipi and pulled the arrow out from under the bed. With this the pair got loose from each other.

"The father of the youth paid heavy damages to the medicine man, and that settled that part of the case.

"Then the father of the guilty wife came to plead for his daughter, that she wouldn't get cut up or killed by her husband. He offered his son-in-law gifts and begged him not to hurt his child. He suggested that since she was guilty, it would be well to make her the slave of the other two wives, but he would not like to see her injured. The medicine man refused the gift from his father-in-law, but agreed to keep the woman, though she could no longer be his favorite wife. Thereafter she had to be a slave in his household to her younger sisters."

Here is a father begging his son-in-law not to harm his daughter. Propitiatory gifts are offered! As was noted in the discussion of murder, the title to a woman passed completely to the husband on marriage. That he refused the gift and yet observed the father's wish seems merely to indicate the nobility of the husband in the case.

ORDEAL

Conditional curse is closely akin to ordeal. In view of the wide spread of ordeal in the Old World and its peculiar usefulness in law, its general neglect by the American Indians is unique. Yet neglect need not mean

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

775 them. He dropped the paunch and seized the arms fast, so he could carry the ghost on his back.

The people heard him coming. They heard the squeaking of the bones.

"Coward, what are you doing out there?" they called. "Bring us that water."

He just threw the skeleton in at them. They all fled and fell in a heap. The ghost disappeared.

That night it came back to the young man. It gave him medicine.

"You will be hard to hit," it told him. "Bullets will never kill you. Keep a ball of white clay with you. When there is going to be a fight, paint yourself white all over."

"Never go into the battle first. Wait until your friends retreat. Then go right in."

The next day the party went on. They made a good raid on a herd of Mexican horses, but the Mexican pursuit caught up with them. The battle started. He went off to one side to prepare himself. Another young man came up to ask for the protection of his medicine. He gave him some and told him how to wait.

At the right time, they charged, and they turned the tide by killing several Mexicans. After that he became a famous warrior. » » »

●754 775 Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis. In a case of epilepsy, recounted by Breaks Something, a medicine man with power over ghosts was called in. He looked at the patient and said. "This disease has nothing to do with ghosts; it is not in my line; must be something else." He could not help this sickness; it seemed to be something inside of the sick man.

776 Another source of great power for the Comanches, and Shoshones, too, lay in the "little men"—the *nɜnəpi*. They were believed to be no more than a foot high. They were armed with little shields, bows, and arrows, which killed every time they shot. They also threw little spears with points made of alligator spines. The Comanches say that the *nɜnəpi* made all the little stone arrowheads that they found all around. A few daring medicine men sought power from the little men, but most people did not want to possess it, for it was too dangerous: a man might kill someone when he did not want to kill.

Men also killed their wives at times when they suffered chronic ailments and medicine cures had failed. A case is reported of a chief who cut the throat of his wife, who had been ill for a long time, to avoid the inconvenience of caring for her. After making "medicine of preparation" to fit her for a happy reception in the land of spirits, he took her life, though mourning her untimely death. Such deeds were rare, however.

In spite of the legal right of a husband to kill his wife, a man who killed his wives too recklessly was considered "mean" by the people. Yet, if he were insensitive to such disapproval, and particularly if he were brave enough to maintain his status through coups, there was little to stop him, except that new wives became more difficult to get. On the other hand, attempts of wives on the lives of husbands were rare indeed.

Of acts taking on a criminal tinge there was only one category—excessive sorcery. Among other Plains tribes violation of the communal buffalo-hunt rules, i.e., going out to hunt alone or beating the signal for the mass charge, was one of the most severe public offenses. The military society police in charge of the hunts were wont to handle any such miscreant roughly. But the Comanches were the great exception.

Ralph Linton has suggested that a superabundance of bison on the Southern Plains made formal police sanctions functionally unnecessary for the Comanches; however, the historical evidence cited earlier indicates that food was not always easy to come by. However this may be, it is quite evident that the Comanches felt no need to make a crime of violation of the rules of the communal hunt. Furthermore, unlike the other Plains tribes, who felt the need and also had an admirably suited mechanism at hand for fulfillment of the need, the Comanches with their Shoshonean background possessed no military societies. They let the matter ride.

Sorcery that got out of hand was another matter. The Comanches were only slightly plagued by witchcraft. As Ruth Benedict once observed, "Sorcery is a fear-projection, and the Comanches were not ridden by fear."[20] Ralph Linton has emphatically reiterated that only old men, who could no longer compete on a warrior basis, turned to

[20] In conversation with Hoebel.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933,1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

754 black magic as a means of defending their positions when their physical prowess had failed.[21] Ideally, a Comanche male who had passed beyond fighting age should have emulated the peace chief in behavior. Most men relaxed and did so. A few whose egos were too strong did not; from medicine men they transformed themselves into evil medicine men.

It was not necessary that they learn any new formulae of black magic to achieve their evil purposes. All they had to do was to direct their once-good powers to antisocial ends. Instead of healing the sick, they used their powers against victims of their jealous spleen to bring them sickness and death.

"The life of a young man was very dangerous," said Breaks Something in discussing sorcery. "If he hung around the wives of a medicine man, he would be jealous and paralyze the young man's legs."

"My grandfather had four wives, but none of them ever ran away or got into triuble," observed Rhoda Greyfoot in a reflective mood. "He was a great medicine man, and other men were too much afraid of him to bother his wives."

In the youth of Herman Greyfoot, his band harbored a "crazy young man, who was harmless, just wandering about on foot; he never rode a horse." He lost his mind "because he paid too much attention to the wife of a medicine man, who witched him."

As the young warriors expressed their rivalry in coup-counting, older medicine men expressed theirs in occasional formal medicine jousts. There is extant among the Comanches a legendary account of one such "battle of sorcerers."

« « « Arapaho and Cheyenne medicine men used to use their power in an evil way. Once, when the Comanches and Cheyennes were camped together, the Cheyennes pointed out a medicine man who was using his power to cause deaths.

A Comanche medicine man heard about this, and he decided to go and see the Cheyenne. He got on his war horse, which he rode without a bridle, and rode over to the camp of the Cheyenne medicine man.

The Cheyenne came out and greeted him; he asked him what

[21] Linton, "The Comanche," *loc. cit.*, 67.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

he wanted. The Comanche answered that he wanted to smoke. So the Cheyenne invited him into the tipi and sat down on the north side after putting the Comanche on the south, next to the sun. 754

Then the Cheyenne got his long pipe. He filled it with tobacco, and lit it with a coal from the fire burning in the center of his lodge.

"How should I pass this pipe to you?" he asked his visitor.

"Oh, any way is all right," the Comanche answered, as he took it with both his hands. He smoked, inhaling four times. On the fourth draw the Cheyenne poison went right into him. He could feel it.

He blew in the pipe before handing it back to his Cheyenne host. Then he rubbed his own belly, and blew a yellowhammer feather out of his mouth and into his hand.

"What does this mean?" he asked the Cheyenne. "I found this in the stem of your pipe."

"Huh, I don't know anything about that," was the answer that came back. "You may do anything you want with it."

Now it was the Cheyenne's turn to smoke. He drew three puffs. On the fourth puff he felt a pain in his side. He wiggled and blew. Out of his mouth and into his hand came an eagle feather.

"What do you mean by this?" he demanded of his guest.

"Why, I don't know anything about that," came the innocent answer from the Comanche. "That must be your feather; it's your pipe."

"Well, here, I give this feather to you." The Comanche's turn to smoke came again. He smoked three times. On the fourth smoke he felt a pain, and he blew out a black bug.

"What is this?"

"Why, I don't know," his host answered. "It must be yours."

"No, its not mine. It must be yours; this pipe belongs to you."

Now the Cheyenne smoked again. On the fourth puff he blew out a tarantula.

"What is this?" he asked in wonder. "It must belong to you."

"Oh, no, that bug isn't mine. That is your pipe you are smoking. That bug must belong to you."

Then the Comanche took his fourth turn with the pipe. He smoked three times. On the fourth puff he felt a terrible pain, and he blew out a cockleburr. The Cheyenne said he did not know a thing about it.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

The Comanches

●754 The Comanche medicine man handed the pipe back to him for his fourth turn. This time, on his fourth puff, a barrel cactus lodged in the throat of the evil Cheyenne medicine man. It lodged there. He blew and blew, but he could not get it out.

"Well, this has been a nice day," said the Comanche. Then he mounted his horse and went home.

When he was back at his lodge, he heard cries arising from the Cheyenne camp. The medicine man had died; he had found a medicine man with better power than he had; he had died of the cactus in his throat.

The next day the Cheyennes brought the Comanche medicine man a horse loaded with presents. They were thankful to him for killing their bad medicine man.[22] » » »

As a note of caution the reader is reminded that this is a Comanche and not a Cheyenne story. As such it projects Comanche attitudes upon the Cheyennes. The Cheyennes knew sorcery, but it was an exceedingly minor factor in their lives—more so than in the case of the Comanches. The Cheyennes had smoking tournaments, but only for coup-counting bouts. Cheyenne old men inverted the warrior ideal of their youths to try to outdo each other in burlesquing war honors by boasting of "dishonorable" deeds. But they did not engage in sorcerers' rivalry.

The Cheyenne old men could laugh serenely at themselves, because their place in life was secure. The Comanches, who never achieved lasting security of personal prestige, could not stomach self-ridicule. They turned the coup bout into the sorcerers' duel for old men.

Most Comanche sorcery was, of course, not done in open contest. A sorcerer simply willed an illness upon a victim with his power, or he shot in a feather or other thing secretly. His victim could be an object of sexual jealousy or merely a rival medicine man toward whom he bore a grudge. Or it could be a woman who had at one time rejected him. A sorcerer might also use his power to kill a man in order to get his wife.[23] In a few cases the sorcerer had nothing against his victim of which he was consciously aware. It was simply that his

[22] Informant: Breaks Something
[23] Informant: Kills Something.

3:Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945)1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

754 power had shown him a victim in a dream, and it was believed, if this occurred, that the sorcerer had to kill the person or his power would kill him instead.

The sorcerer would be revealed in the diagnosis of a medicine man when he was called in to cure. "When a feather is shot into a person, a medicine man can see just like reading a newspaper who put it there." When the sorcerer was announced, it was usual for the brothers of the sick person to pay him a visit in order to ask him to remove the power. In most of the specific cases of which we have accounts, the sorcerer denied his guilt. Then his petitioners either went away and engaged their own medicine man to counteract the witchcraft or they threatened bodily injury to the sorcerer. If their curing doctor was strong enough and was willing to go on with the case, he turned the power back, and the sorcerer died of his own malefactions.

The sorcerer who maintained his innocence, when threatened with force, in each recorded case immediately forestalled further legal steps by throwing the whole affair over to supernatural judgment. He swore his innocence with a conditional curse. If he was guilty he was killed by powers of the Sun and the Earth. If he survived, his innocence was accepted as proved.

The sin for which he died was perjury before the supernatural powers. The penalty was not imposed by man, but by the "gods."

Isolated instances were not, therefore, legal offenses.

754 Excessive and repeated sorcery was another matter. It built up a condition of social anxiety that led to a fairly dispassionate and quite
683 deliberate execution of the sorcerer by general consent. In two instances, sorcerers were lured into ambush on the pretext of engaging them to make cures. In one of these cases the sorcerer was assassinated by two delegates chosen by the people. In the other, he was shot just as he left the tipi.

In a third case, the members of the Those Who Move Often band were afraid to assault a dangerous sorcerer, so they contrived a successful ruse to cause him to break his tabus. Thus they destroyed him.[24]

000 Many forms of social conduct which are considered abnormal in

[24] Hoebel, *The Political Organization and Law-Ways of the Comanche Indians*, Case 23, 89–90.

3: Wallace & Hoebel E-4, 5 (1933, 1945) 1952
NO6 Comanche NO6

X 648 657 period the allotments were to be free from taxation and could not become subject to any indebtedness. In addition, four tracts were reserved to the Indians collectively: the "Big Pasture" lying along Red River, an area adjacent to the Wichita-Caddo reservation, an area east of the Big Pasture and adjoining the Chickasaw country, and a small area near Fort Sill for a wood reserve. The four tracts amounted to 551,680 acres; the Big Pasture with 414,720 acres was by far the largest.

For the surrender of their rights to all other lands of the reservation, the government agreed to pay the Indians two million dollars in installments of $500,000 each at such times as the "Secretary of Interior shall deem the best for the said Indians." The money was to draw 5 per cent interest while in the United States Treasury, the interest to be paid annually. The agreement was to become effective when approved by Congress.

X 648 657 ● 754 Many leading Indians protested that the agreement was secured unfairly. They accused the interpreter, Joshua Givens, son of Satank, of falsely translating their statements. It is reported that the Indians were so infuriated with Joshua that they made medicine to cause his death as well as the commissioners'. They made an image of Joshua and threw mud at it. The fatal ailment would occur where the mud hit. The mud struck his chest. On the way home from the council, Joshua had a hemorrhage of the lungs. Shortly afterwards he died, and the commissioners did not long survive him.[28]

X 648 657 Since only a part of the Indians had been present at the signing of the agreement, opponents argued that it was illegal. The opposition party was supported by the cattlemen, and they did not concede without a fight. They sent a delegation headed by General Hugh L. Scott and Lone Wolf to Washington. The delegation obtained a hearing with President Grover Cleveland, who is said to have listened to their case and exclaimed, "I will not permit it. I will see justice done

---

ownership) in 1926, and possibly a half-dozen since then. The trust period has been extended from time to time by executive order. The latest order extends it for twenty-five years from August, 1946. Personal communication from Supt. W. B. McCown to Wallace, June 12, 1945, and Executive Order 9639, Federal Register, November 24, 1945.

[28] J. J. Methvin, missionary teacher who went to the reservation in 1887, to Lillian Cassaway, June 22, 1937, Indian-Pioneer Papers (MS collection, Oklahoma University Library), Vol. XLII, pp. 415–16.

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

(ca. 1818) 175 771

seasons. In short they have no visible, operative religion; and such notions as they do entertain, are mere fanciful speculations, that apparently have not the slightest practical influence on their lives and conduct. They are enveloped in thick darkness, and live, and die in dismal estrangement from the God of Heaven.

B.

[*The Cincinnati Literary Gazette*, May 22, 1824]

Letter III

The Comanchees, like all other heathen nations, mingle with the crudities of their religious tenets, some exceedingly absurd and unintelligible fantasies, to which they adhere with all the tenacity of a blind superstition. They believe in witchcraft, and impute to persons whom they suspect to be possessed of the "evil spirit", the most mischievous and diabolical propensities. All internal diseases, the nature or cause of which they do not comprehend, and they are by no means skilled in physics, they attribute to the *blasting breath* of some secret enemy, who is endowed by evil genii with the mystical powers of enchantment. They say the unhappy subject has been "blown", and represent the manner of communicating the occult infection, by blowing through the hand. These tricks of sorcery they sometimes charge to the evil disposed of their own people, but are never able to detect and identify the foul fiend, or instant immolation would be his destiny. They hold the Kitchies (a small band on a branch of the River Trinity) in peculiar detestation, on account of their supposed powers of *blowing;* and charge them with having "blown" the waters that intersect their route to Natchitoches, which has rendered their visits to that post so destructive to their people. Whatever may be the nature of the hidden disease, the consequence is often a gradual dissolution of the miserable victim, who pines away in langour and despondency, amidst unavailing threats of vengeance upon his mysterious adversary. The few persons I have seen who were supposed to have been "blown", have exhibited all the external symptoms of pulmonary affection: but the mild and equable tem-

175 754

21: Burnet T-5 (1818-1819) 1954 NO6 Comanche NO6
Texas

[ca. 1818]

perament of the climate they inhabit, would seem to preclude the existence of consumptive diseases amongst them. They have faith in certain preternatural charms, and think, or affect to think, the oil of the beaver rubbed on the surface of the body, an impenetrable barrier to a ball; and will relate with infinite self-complacency, how the Goch-chupin's (Spaniards) balls, have hit them here and there, and fallen harmless to the ground. This idea may possibly have some operation and impart a factitious boldness to their minds, when opposed to the *Scopete* or Spanish musket; but few will be found of sufficient hardihood to repose confidence in their magical shields, when assailed by the ball of a rifle. They have an indescribable dread of that potent and unerring weapon. They sometimes wear around the neck, one or more highly aromatic kernels, resembling the Vanilla bean, which they esteem as amulets of infallible efficacy in preventing disease; and they indulge many other and more frivolous whimsicalities that are not worthy of notice in a description so cursory as this.

The Comanchees admit of polygamy to an unlimited extent, and have no fixed ceremonials of marriage. Their principal warriors have often from five to eight or ten wives, being restrained only by their own capricious humours. Carno-san-tua, (The Son of America), a chief of some note, left 10 widows to bewail his untimely death. The most comely of them, however, were soon dispersed, to herd with the connubial slaves of other Lords of the creation; while the less favoured retained their weeds, and prolonged their severe and sanguinary discipline of lamentation for the dead. The redoubtable warrior generally proportions the number of his help-mates to his means of maintenance, which implies simply animal sustentation, and in procuring which, his only agency is the killing of game. His wives, one or more of whom are always in attendance on his hunting excursions, perform the duties of ostler in catching, saddling, and turning out his horse; of page, in carrying his implements of the chase; of butcher and porter, in skinning and transporting his meat; and of cook and waiter, in preparing and serving it up. The Squaws are

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

to get a share in their power. Although they were paid for their healing efforts, they did not attempt to milk the public or use their supernatural potency for exploitative purposes. Comanche magic was mostly white.

Occasional older medicine men, however, became "mean medicine men." Unable any longer to maintain their prestige by war prowess, they struck out at enterprising youngsters. They shot their medicine into them. The detection of sorcery was the job of a curing medicine man. In the first instance, after diagnosing the nature of the illness and who caused it, he always tried to effect a cure with a counter medicine. If he was successful, nothing more was done. If he failed, legal action was in order. The brothers of the sorcerized victim would call upon the sorcerer to remove the curse. If he refused, which he usually did by denying that he had anything to do with the affair, they could move to an attack with weapons or the threat of such an attack. But whether they did or not depended upon their strength of character. In sorcery cases where the aggrieved party was a weakling (and apparently not backed by brothers) there was no prosecution; and one Comanche, Salt Worn Out, even shifted to another band, to get out of the sorcerer's sphere of influence.[7] In one instance where the aggrieved brothers started an apparently forceful prosecution, they backed down when the sorcerer put up an even more forceful defense—a threat of *more* sorcery.[8] In the event both parties took equally strong positions, one accused sorcerer took a voluntary conditional curse on the sun—and was killed by lightning the following spring. Thus he paid the price of his guilt.[9]

In another instance the alleged sorcerer was forthwith stabbed and killed by his own sister's son, the brother of his victim. The slayer's elder brother was appalled by the act. But Chew Up, the knife wielder, retorted, "Is it as nothing that I should sit and watch my brother being murdered? Should I have done nothing?" And here there was no blood revenge in counteraction, "Because" in the very words of a Comanche, "the quarrel was in the family, no one else could take it up or do anything about it."[10] Homicide was not legally a tribal or public affair.

The cases in general indicate that the Comanches preferred not to tangle with sorcerers. A cure by a good doctor was much to be preferred. This failing, a kinsman did not have to prosecute as did a cuckolded husband, but he legitimately could, if he had the guts. Otherwise the individual act of sorcery went unpunished. Brave warriors as champions at law did not enter these cases. A warrior outfacing another warrior was one thing, but to have to threaten a sorcerer was not an inviting prospect for even the bravest.

[7] Hoebel, *Political Organization and Law-ways*, case 25, p. 92.
[8] *Ibid.*, case 24, p. 91.
[9] *Ibid.*, case 23, pp. 89-90.
[10] *Ibid.*, case 27, pp. 94-95.

29: Hoebel E-4,5 (1933) 1969 N06 Comanche N06

Repeated sorcery was another matter. As among the Eskimos it became a threat to all the people—a threat not to be borne. The fact that the sorcerer was believed to have killed a number of people was evidence that he was "getting away with murder," evidence that no one dared to face up to him. In the need to remove the threat to their common security the members of the band drew together in the sole communal action that the Comanches took against any sort of offender. They lynched him. Or together they tricked him into breaking his tabus so that he died of the effects of his own powers. In each of these instances his fate was discussed and ordained in a meeting of all the men of the band. Excessive sorcery thus became the sole crime in the Comanche legal system.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

175 178 624 man, if he was fortunate, could become a peace chief, but a peace chief possessed no real authority and functioned most importantly as a mediator in the disputes which arose among the younger men.

175 178 224 [789] 621 [222] With the greater food supply offered by the seemingly boundless bison herds, hunting magic decreased in importance. Antelope magic did persist from the Shoshone heritage. The more favorable living conditions and constant food supply also allowed the individual bands, which had retained their Basin characteristics, to become larger and to achieve a greater degree of independence from their sister bands. The emphasis on the buffalo as a food source also tended to decrease the importance of gathering and exploitation of the floral environment for food. Further, the Comanches made little or no use of fish and of such small game as rabbits (Lowie 1954:6).

175 178 [847] [727] [562] [598] [309] The Basin Shoshone practice of infanticide disappeared as the family group could more efficiently care for its offspring. The practice of enculturating slaves and captives became common among the Comanches in order to augment their numbers and specifically to free males for hunting and warfare. The stress on war and hunting also tended to debase the position of women, and such practices as the mutilation of wives, a custom which had never occurred in Basin Shoshone culture, came into practice.

175 178 771 [776] [775] 775 [785] 578 721 [796] Patterns of religious belief and behavior also underwent certain changes from Basin life to the Plains. A vaguely defined belief in a Great Spirit persisted, as did the relative lack of concern with the afterlife. However, the intense fear of ghosts held by the Basin Shoshone diminished in the Comanche Plains culture. Also, the practice of power transmission from individual to individual, instead of power source to individual, developed in importance. The decrease in ghost fear and, it is assumed, witchcraft in Comanche culture, as opposed to the Basin culture, was greatly facilitated by the lessening of intrasocial tensions and the Comanches' ability, through warfare, to turn aggressions outward and away from the primary group. As a whole, Comanche religious patterns were exceedingly simple and lacking in elaborate ceremonialism and ritual, at least compared to their Plains neighbors (Hoebel 1940:83).

175 171 [621] [575] 796 291 [342] The Comanches possessed characteristics, other than their paucity of ceremonialism, which served to differentiate them from other Plains tribes. The Comanche bands were more self-managing than bands found among other Plains groups. Warrior societies, a diagnostic trait of Plains culture, were lacking in Comanche society except in the most rudimentary form. The Sun Dance was not a vital aspect of Comanche culture. Decoration of clothing with beads, quills, and ornaments of bone, shell, and metal was deemphasized, while heavy fringing of the garments was the rule. The Comanche tepee was built on a four-pole base like that of the Blackfoot, Sarsi, Ute, and Shoshone; while the Comanches' historic neighbors, such as the Kiowa, Cheyenne, Arapaho, and Kiowa-Apache used a three-pole foundation (Lowie 1954:33).

721 [224] By the early nineteenth century the bison herds were greatly diminished on the south Plains, and the Comanches increasingly turned to raiding to augment their economy. During this period the Comanches raided New Mexico, the Santa Fe Trail, northern Texas, and Old Mexico, sometimes as far south as Durango.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

patient is liberally dosed with this decoction until the symptoms subside. According to Sanapia, this root is unusually hard and therefore difficult to prepare for use as a medicine. However, she considers its extreme hardness as a positive quality since she associates hardness with compactness; therefore, she feels there is more medicine to a piece of *kusiwɜna* than there would be to practically any other medicine of equal size. 278 824 755 757

In the treatment of victims of witchcraft, a decoction of this root is utilized in several different ways. It can be made into a thick paste which is applied to an area of minute incisions which are made by Sanapia with slivers of glass before she begins to suck from the victim the magically toxic feather which has been introduced into the victim's body by the witch. The decoction can also be drunk by the patient, or it can be spewed on him by Sanapia in the course of treatment. [754]

do:ltsa

[No translation] [No specimen]

Sanapia obtains this medicine from Shoshone friends who live on the Fort Washakie reservation in central Wyoming. She utilizes the thick root of this plant, without modification, as a medicine to induce appetite and stimulate weight gain. A decoction made from this root is also used in the treatment of tuberculosis.

From Sanapia's description of *do:ltsa* and its properties, it could be suggested that this plant is *Perideridia gairdneri*, a wild caraway, called *yap* by the Comanches (Kearney 1951:615). Since Sanapia first acquired this medicine from an Arapaho uncle, who in turn suggested to her certain Shoshone as further sources for it, the name which she uses may well be Arapaho, Shoshone, or Sanapia's Comanche-ized corruption of an Arapaho or Shoshone word which is applied to this plant. [177]

bɔ:ɪatas

"looks like feathers" [No specimen]

This medicine, like sweet sage, is obtained for Sanapia by Fort Sill Apaches from the Mescalero country. The fruiting body is made into an infusion which is internally administered in the treatment of tuberculosis, various stomach complaints, and postnatal hemorrhaging. A thick paste is prepared from these fruiting bodies and applied as a liniment to the chest and throat of those suffering from pneumonia. No specimen would be obtained. However, from Sanapia's description, *Agoseris* might be suggested as a highly probably genus affiliation. [816]

oinatɪu

"vomit medicine" [No specimen]

Sanapia reports but one use for this medicine plant. A decoction of the root is taken internally by patients afflicted with asthma or chest congestion. The described results are quite spectacular.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

278 824 too. Put it in their bodies and mix it up so they can stick it on these rocks like you can see. That's why this medicine works best with cedar.

237 755 757 Rock medicine is only used in conjunction with cedar: Both are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke. The *təpinatsu* sputters when placed on the coals and produces a thick white smoke which is not unlike cedar smoke in [754] odor, though more pungent. This medicine's major use is in the treatment of ghost sickness and the results of witchcraft.

Sanapia picks the tiny pebbles and grains of sand from the *təpinatsu* and forms the then-translucent amber-colored gum into a ball about an inch in diameter. She rolls the ball between her palms and the heat and friction polish it to a glassy brown-gold color. It is in this form that it is utilized as medicine.

There is a medicine similar in kind to *təpinatsu* which Sanapia reports is found in the vicinity of Wichita Falls, Texas. The Comanche word for it, according to Sanapia, means "rats make it." It is described as being of the same composition as *təpinatsu*; however, instead of being produced by "little bugs," it is believed to be produced by pack rats. The gummy substance is melted in hot water, and persons suffering from paralysis, other than the kind caused by ghosts, are bathed in this concoction. This medicine, unmelted, is also applied directly to the area of paralysis. Sanapia remembers that her mother used this medicine; however, it was not transferred to Sanapia when she became a doctor.

278 824 755 757 [844] [303] Another medicine plant of which Sanapia has knowledge, but which was not transmitted by her mother to her, is one which, when mixed *bekwinatsu*, was administered as a sedative to women in protracted labor. The seeds of this plant were utilized as medicine when boiled into a medicinal decoction. Sanapia also states that the seeds of this plant augment the attractive aroma of Indian perfume (*Monarda fistulosa*) when the two are mixed and moistened.

I can just sit here and look at them bald prairies and see four kinds of medicines growing. I bet you can't even see them? Not many . . . even of my people, up to today, can even see them growing early in the spring. I can because I've learned that way. There's lots of plants that can get you well, but they ain't many people who even know that anymore.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

775 753 [756] Sanapia reports that ghost sickness is sometimes called "stroke" by white men. She makes a distinction between the two and will not attempt to doctor someone with a stroke, feeling that this affliction is a white man's disease and therefore the province of white doctors. Sanapia states that persons suffering from ghost sickness exude an offensive odor which is not present in the case of stroke. The ghost-sickness victim also possesses an aura of evil, detectable by Sanapia because of her special powers, which she cannot detect in a patient suffering from a stroke. The visible symptoms of the two can be very similar though. Further, [754] certain effects of witchcraft can be almost identical to the symptomatic traits of ghost sickness; however, with witchcraft Sanapia reports that the victim's eyes do not water and he does not salivate excessively. Also, the contortions of the face and the contractions of the hands and arms usually appear in spasmodic cycles rather than as a relatively constant state of contorted paralysis as in ghost sickness.

775 753 754 756 Wallace and Hoebel (1952:174) make the following statement when discussing Comanche *puhakuts*: "Sorcery with ghost medicine is supposed to cause paralysis." As already mentioned, and as will be more fully discussed in Chapter 5, witching or sorcery by an eagle doctor, a doctor with ghost Medicine, not only causes paralysis but a type of paralysis almost identical to that which appears in ghost sickness. The conclusion seems to follow that a doctor with ghost Medicine, or power greater than ghosts, would have the ability to control the behavior of ghosts in any way that he wished, from dismissing them or their effects on living men to directing them to perform harmful acts to humans. Sanapia does not recognize the connection in the similarity in the symptom of ghost sickness and witch sickness, and she maintains that doctors with her particular powers are only able to cure the effects of the ghost's actions, but they are unable to affect the behavior of ghosts in any way, such as directing them to harm a specific individual.

Ghost Fear in the Basin and on the Plains

775 [178] In discussing the roots of Comanche culture, it was noted that a lively ghost fear was present among the Basin-Range peoples. When the Comanches moved onto the Plains, this ghost fear apparently disappeared, or, at least its prevalence greatly diminished (Kardiner 1945:84; Wallace and Hoebel 1952: 173). However, my field research has shown that at present the more traditional Comanches possess a prominent ghost-fear complex. What factors can be suggested to explain the deemphasis of ghost fear in the Comanche transition from the Basin to the Plains, and how can its reappearance in twentieth-century Comanche society be accounted for?

775 154 571 Kardiner (1945:94) suggested that ghost fear, and possibly the prevalence of witchcraft, decreased in importance in the transition from Basin to Plains because the Plains Comanches were able to release aggressions and hostility outside the primary group through the institutionalized war complex. My model Basin culture possessed no patterns of warfare through which intrasocially spawned tensions and aggression could be released in such a way that the societal

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

society. Therefore the dangers of aggressing toward a source which could effectively retaliate is lessened. Although witch fear serves this same function in some cultures, the particular nature of Comanche witchcraft beliefs precludes its similar use in Comanche society. In Comanche society witchcraft is usually worked by *pubakuts*. Therefore, the individual who may have witched your uncle last month may be the only one who could cure you if you contracted ghost sickness tomorrow.

Debt to the Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache

It appears very likely that the Comanches borrowed heavily from their Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache neighbor's ghost beliefs to revitalize and supplement their own ghost complex. Possibly, the Comanche ghost complex lost much in complexity and elaboration during the many decades of its relative insignificance among the nomadic Comanches. The contemporary Comanche, Kiowa, and Kiowa-Apache notions of ghosts, their nature, and their effects on the living are very similar in general design. However, Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache ghost beliefs, relative to the Comanche's, seem to be much more systematic, consistent, and elaborated. This view is substantiated by a perusal of some of the relevant field notes of others who have done research among these peoples (Bittle 1967; Freeman 1968). Sanapia's use of a crow feather amulet against ghosts can be presented as a specific example. Sanapia and several other Comanche informants, though feeling that crow feathers act to repel ghosts, could offer no explanation for this peculiar property of the crow feathers. Kiowa and Kiowa-Apache informants, however, were quick to point out that the crow is the natural enemy of the owl, a standard guise of the ghosts. Therefore, crow feathers are magically used to enlist the aid of the crow against the owl. Comanches do not generally hold this notion of the association of the owl with ghosts, though they value crow feathers as protective amulets against ghosts. It appears that the Comanches borrowed the crow feather amulet without borrowing the rationale for its use.

Habits of Ghosts

Comanche ghost notions are uncomplicated. The following themes appear consistently in the accounts of actual ghost contact, though not so consistently in the idealized ghost lore. The Comanches have defined the ghost's operating hours to that time between sunset and sunrise and its area of operation in the majority of cases to any place that is relatively isolated. Though the ghost can appear during the daylight hours as a whirlwind, I collected no accounts of ghost sickness being contracted during that time. Cedar smoke or cedar leaves serve the Comanches as a totally effective ghost repellent. Thus, it seems that it would be a simple matter to avoid the ghosts: Keep a supply of cedar leaves in your house, and do not wander abroad at night in an isolated area unaccompanied. Yet

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

$25 to $100 for her services as a doctor. The normal payment consists of about $30, plus groceries and enough cloth for several dresses. Several informants stated that the gift of groceries is connected with a belief that Sanapia eats the sickness which a patient might have; therefore, she should be given something good to eat as payment.

Sanapia's many comments concerning the difficulty of being a doctor often deal with the question of payments.

> Some people don't pay. They have to but they don't. They say, "Well, we haven't got no money now, but when we got money we'll pay you." They don't do it. My husband got to talking about it with some people that came here once. I was in there listening. He said, "Lots of people come here, and they come in real sick, real sick. She takes her time and doctor them, and she wait on them, and she even cook for them and give them eats because its two or three days before she get through with them. They promise her this and that and they never give it to her." There's many people that owe me that. I get tired, you know. Lots of times it get so hot in there doctoring them : . . sweating and tired out by the time I get through. And then I go through all that work for nothing.

The Necessity of Faith

An emergency situation sometimes arises when Sanapia must leave her house and go to the patient to doctor him. In this instance all of the formal first interview rituals are ignored, and Sanapia may begin doctoring with an intensity greater than that which she would be prone to initiate in an ordinary case. Sanapia customarily makes the following statement to those who appear at her home and hurriedly insist that she come at once to doctor a sick relative: "If I catch you between here and you alls place, they ain't no use in me doctoring." In other words, if Sanapia, leaving after the petitioners, overtakes them before they reach home where the sick individual lies, it signifies to Sanapia that the petitioners either do not care very much for the sick individual since they did not hurry back to him or they do not believe in Sanapia's powers. Sanapia's customarily made statement in this situation is involved with her feeling of the necessity of men's faith in power if they desire supernatural power to operate on their behalf.

Throughout the doctoring procedure, Sanapia continually prods the patient to have faith in her powers and the powers of the sun, earth, God, peyote, Jesus, Medicine eagle, and the Holy Ghost. It can also be remembered that many of the rituals involved with Sanapia's acquisition of power from her mother were colored by tests of faith and courage. Sanapia will admit that a person who does not believe in her power cannot be doctored by her: Her doctoring will have no effect. Also, a person who does not believe in ghosts and witches cannot be harmed by them. Wallace and Hoebel (1952:159) mention that the Comanches felt that if a *puhakut* did not believe in the powers he possessed, his powers would not work for him.

In order to instill this crucial element of faith in her patient, Sanapia admits that she does exaggerate her doctoring performance at times. She did not

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Ghost Sickness and Witch Sickness

Sanapia's great success in curing ghost-sickness victims appears to give further support to the idea of the psychogenesis of ghost sickness. Then again, she would also be attributed with success in curing a transient unilateral facial paralysis of an organic genesis which ran its course during the time of treatment or within a suitable time span after treatment. Of course, they both support the same conclusion to the Comanches: Sanapia can cure ghost sickness. However, if Sanapia is successful in curing ghost sickness, why does she enjoy a relative lack of success in curing the victims of witchcraft when the symptomatic manifestations of the two are practically identical? Once again, as in the discussion of ghost sickness, a valuable clue is suggested by looking at standardization in the age and sex of the victims of the witch. The institution of witchcraft will be more thoroughly surveyed in Chapter 5. It seems most appropriate that the etiology of witchcraft symptoms should be discussed at this juncture since we are approaching the question of Sanapia's cultural function as curer of afflictions believed by the Comanches to be magically or supernaturally instigated.

The overwhelming majority of Comanche witch victims are infants, rarely more than several years of age. Therefore, we must base our attempt at explanation of the symptoms of witch sickness on an organic disorder which corresponds to the symptoms displayed by the witched victim. The medical literature presents an account of a disorder which corresponds in type to the symptoms present in ghost sickness and witch sickness, but which is limited, with rare exceptions, to infants less than two years of age. This neuromuscular disorder, tetany, also exhibits two symptoms by which Sanapia conceptually differentiates between witch sickness and ghost sickness by the degree of their severity. Sanapia points out that though witch- and ghost-sickness victims demonstrate similar modes of contortion, the witch victim's contortions appear most often in spasmodic fashion, while this trait is less marked in ghost sickness. Also, the peculiar contractions of the hands and arms, described in discussing ghost sickness, are more prevalent in cases of witch sickness. Further, two major causes of tetany in infants result from inadequate calcium intake and vitamin D deficiency, dietary lacks which could easily occur in the relatively poor environment in which many Comanche infants are reared.

Aub (1951:1275) mentions that signs of tetany will result from alkalosis of various origins, such as hyperventilation. The relationship of the emotion of fear to hyperventilation is noteworthy. Although the infant does not understand that he is the target of the witch, his parents do. Perhaps the parents' increased anxiety over the symptoms of tetany, which they could associate with witchcraft, only acts to increase anxiety in the infant, thus more readily acting to increase the possibility of hyperventilation. It is a common observation that the emotional state of parents can affect the emotional state of their infant children.

Because of the suggested differences in etiology of ghost sickness and witch sickness, Sanapia's success with ghost sickness and relative lack of success in curing witch sickness is understandable. She can relieve some of the symptoms of

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

754 854 164 756 witch sickness through her ability to ease the anxiety of the parents and therefore decrease the anxiety which is communicated to the child. However, Sanapia cannot alleviate certain factors, perhaps of an environmental nature, which have caused tetany. It is also significant that with witch victims, because of their age, Sanapia is unable to communicate. In discussing the actual treatment of ghost sickness, it was seen that psychotherapeutic traits in her behavior toward her patient are ubiquitous.

Sanapia, Ghosts, and Ghost Sickness

756 775 164 755 A great amount of time has been spent in discussing ghosts, ghost sickness, and the suggested causes of ghost sickness because of this complex's close association to Sanapia's role in Comanche society. As an eagle doctor, Sanapia's special thaumaturgic power is believed to be her ability to counteract or defeat the ghost's malevolent influences on living men. Because of the nature of the symptoms associated with ghost sickness and because of their probable psychogenic etiology, she is almost always successful in treating the victim of the ghost. If the affliction which her patient possesses is an organically based transient unilateral facial paralysis, it will disappear of its own accord when it runs its course; and if the disorder is hysterically induced, the patient actually cures himself, while Sanapia more or less functions as a symbol to the patient that the time for his cure is at hand. Of course, the psychotherapeutic value of her method of curing cannot be minimized, and perhaps it could be said that the emotional state which she induces in her hysterical patient functions as a trigger for his self-healing.

756 775 154 Sanapia's most important overt function in contemporary Comanche society is as a symbol of the Comanche's ability to withstand the attacks of the ghosts. She also serves as the necessary key to the psychological reintegration of marginal Comanches who have "employed" the ghost-sickness conversion reaction. As long as Sanapia, or other eagle doctors, stand as a source of cure, Comanche individuals can contract ghost sickness as a means of relieving certain intolerable emotional states. This could also serve to explain the longevity of the institution of the Comanche eagle doctor, while the other kinds of Comanche native doctors have 756 long since ceased to exist. The human disorder associated with the eagle doctor's 177 particular brand of specialization, ghost sickness, has only increased with the 775 acculturation of the Comanche people, while the specialties of the other varieties 164 of Comanche doctors have been usurped during this same process. It is ironic that acculturation, while actively corroding the overall complexion of traditional Comanche culture, has also served to revive and augment the important function of a symbol of traditional Comanche culture, the Medicine woman.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

5

Witchcraft and the Conceptualization of Illness

Black Magic

WITCHCRAFT and the conceptualization of illness, two seemingly separate areas, are best discussed together because Sanapia's notions of witchcraft present the most obvious examples of her manner of conceptualizing human illness and its causes. The variety of Comanche witchcraft described here is carried out by one of the major methods of the classic witch, a ritual of malevolent imitative magic; however, its perpetrator is not a witch but a shaman who has only temporarily utilized his supernatural powers and knowledge or ritual for purposes of evil. I will use the noun and the verb forms of the word "witch" as my Comanche informants do, keeping this distinction in mind. E. Adamson Hoebel (1940:85) writes: "The Comanche made no basic distinction between a Medicine man and a sorcerer. Medicine was a two-edged sword. It could cut for good or evil."

Witchcraft is an extremely delicate area to investigate among contemporary Comanches. In the sense that the term is presently used among Comanches, it is synonymous with the most diabolical kind of murder. A Medicine woman who was notorious for her acts of malevolent magic has died only within the last several years, and it appears that many Comanches now look upon Sanapia, the only Medicine woman still living, not only with a calculated respect but also with suspicion and a certain amount of fear. The label "witch" was never directly applied by my informants to Sanapia, though some Comanches noted her quick temper and stated that they knew Comanches who were afraid to associate with her lest they arouse her temper and run the risk of having it directed at them.

Sanapia quite naturally denies that she would witch another person, though she is evasive concerning the possibility of her potential to witch if she so desired. When this specific subject presented itself in the course of our discussion, her response could be predicted. In every instance of a question which alluded to the possibility of her utilization of her powers to harm others she drew on the

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

754 756 Bible for her response and for material to construct what she felt would be her evasion of the point of the question. This is an example of the manner in which Sanapia has organized elements and sentiments of the three supernaturalistic systems which affect her life into a supportive and cohesive whole. The following quotation is standard of her manner of responding to the many questions which were directed to her concerning her potential to execute witchcraft. It should be noted that in the example given, she indirectly admits to a belief that she is at least capable of witchcraft. This also was a recurring element in all her responses to questions on this subject.

> I don't think about it much, because the Bible tells me not to kill. I'll be punished if I die. God's going to do that to me. You can't steal too. Can't steal from nobody. That's what I learn in the Bible. Don't steal from nobody. Stealing is bad and people could get in trouble for it. [Proceeds to tell a story about a thief.]

Sanapia is, however, quite knowledgeable as to a Comanche method of witchcraft, a method which, in my opinion, is strictly the province of the eagle doctor. A few years before the death of the Medicine woman previously mentioned, she was invited to live with Sanapia. This fact is still very present in the minds of some Comanches who continue to allude to this when they are discussing the fear which Sanapia arouses in some of her people. Sanapia states that doctors have a special obligatory bond which motivated her to offer assistance to the older woman who, at the time, was experiencing economic and health difficulties. She does admit that during this time she learned very much about witchcraft from the older doctor, who was also an eagle doctor.

Reasons for the Use of Witchcraft

754 756 828 There are, of course, a variety of reasons why a *puhakut* would resort to witchcraft. The most common reason in Sanapia's opinion is jealousy, although a Medicine practitioner can also be commissioned to use his powers and knowledge of witching ritual for evil. There is also the instance in which a Medicine man is told in a dream that he will be able to save the life of his patient if he first takes another's life. Sanapia states that the latter two instances are rare in modern times and that most witchcraft victims whom she has doctored have been witched because they, or more likely their parents, inspired jealousy in certain old people who possessed *puha* and who knew how to witch. It is significant that in the several accounts of witching which Sanapia has reported, she always laid the [854] blame for the act on old people and in almost every case on old women. It is [164] also relevant to note that five of the six accounts which Sanapia has supplied concerning victims of witchcraft which she has doctored have been infants of less than two years of age. Sanapia, however, insists that anyone of any age can be the victim of the witch. When questioned concerning the high rate of infants as witchcraft victims, she replied that some old women whose children have left them

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

become jealous of the children of other women and to punish the younger women 754
attempt to kill their children. 756
[828]

Sanapia feels that the incidents of witchcraft are very rare and are occurring less frequently as the older people of the tribe pass away. In her career as a doctor, a period spanning approximately thirty years, Sanapia reports only six cases of which she has had personal knowledge, though she points out that when she was younger, there were more doctors who could be approached for aid by a witchcraft victim.

The last case of this kind which Sanapia treated occurred two months after I had established rapport with her. It was the first case of witchcraft which she had doctored in four years. This was fortunate for the purposes of my investigation, for Sanapia's full attention was on the subject, and I was also able to obtain an account of the manner in which she doctored her niece's child, the victim of the witch. Before proceeding with a description of the doctoring of a witched individual, I would like to discuss a method of witchcraft known by Sanapia.

A Method of Witchcraft

When a *puhakut* has decided to witch someone, he first spends four days 754
fasting and praying that what he is about to wish will come to pass. These four 756
days are not as rigorously observed as the four days of "vision quest." Fasting is 785
not total, and though he should be outside during the day where he has privacy, he is free to return to his home at night. When he goes to pray, the *puhakut* is [782]
only allowed to take water and Bull Durham tobacco and corn shucks for rolling cigarettes. He must also be at his chosen place of prayer before sunrise to make his morning prayers to the sun. This is the first of many elements in this method of witchcraft which strongly suggests that it was or is the method of the eagle doctors. Sanapia, of course, denies this.

After the period of preparation, the *puhakut* laces a short length of buckskin through his flesh and ties it in a knot, thus forming a loose loop about an inch in diameter which is attached to the flesh. This piece of buckskin can be placed anywhere on the body, though Sanapia states that it is usually visible. She is not unaware of the psychological affect such a display can have.

> Maybe someone sees him like that . . . with that buckskin, they might get scared and stop doing what's making him mad. That's what I think. I ask some old man that had that when I was little what he was doing and he didn't say nothing to me. My grandmother get after me for talking to him and she told me about that part. Later I heard of it around here.

The time between the first stage of the act of witchcraft and the execution of the final stages is indeterminate in length. Perhaps, as Sanapia suggests, if the display of the buckskin loop frightens the potential victim enough, the actions which are aggravating the *puhakut* may cease, and the final stage of the witching need not occur. During this time the wearer of the buckskin loop tells no one

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

754 who his potential victim might be, and it is considered a breach of etiquette to
756 quiz him on the subject. There is also the element of fear present since the
785 *puhakut*, though prepared to witch, does not name his victim until the final stage of witchcraft, and thus any untoward actions by an individual may draw the *puhakut*'s pent-up resolve in a direction which could be decided by him on the spur of the moment. Sanapia likens the *puhakut*, during this phase of witchcraft, to a bomb which could be detonated at the slightest touch.

751 The final stage of witchcraft is initiated by sunrise on the selected day
756 and is completed by sunset on the same day. The *puhakut* takes a white eagle
237 plume and, puncturing the base of the rib, inserts a length of buckskin approximately 12 inches long. The buckskin is tied so that the plume dangles tip down from this buckskin strand. Immediately before sunrise, carrying this one specially prepared item, the *puhakut* goes off by himself to perform his witchcraft. He secures the plume from the branch of a tree in such a manner that it will be hidden from the view of a possible passerby but so it can move freely at the dictates of the wind. He then sits beneath the plume and begins to pray for the death of his victim. As he prays, he makes before him in the soil a small replica of a grave and prays that when the plume finally breaks free from its tether, the object of his prayers will die and enter the grave which has been prepared for him. At sunset the *puhakut* returns to his home, his witchcraft completed. He wears the buckskin loop until the death of his victim, at which time he cuts it from his skin, burns it, and throws the ashes into the nearest running water.

Kardiner (1945:67) writes that a Comanche who thought he was going to be witched or who had been witched could pay the doctor who was responsible to remove the "spell." Sanapia denies this and emphasizes that one of the particularly horrible things about witchcraft is that it cannot be stopped once it is set in motion. A doctor can sometimes cure the witch's victim once the witchcraft has been actualized, but nothing can be done by a doctor before the symptoms appear in the victim. She feels that the majority of witching situations never reach the final stage. In her opinion the buckskin loop advertisement of the witch usually persuades the potential victim to cease his misbehavior before the witch finally and irrevocably sets his black magic into operation. Sanapia also states that this is used as a form of blackmail by some Comanches.

Sanapia refers to this final stage of witchcraft as "shooting the feather." She states that the witch causes the eagle plume to enter the body of the victim at the moment it breaks free from its tether. The feather enters the victim immediately below the surface of the skin and proceeds to move rapidly over the entire body area, causing the physical symptoms associated with witchcraft. It finally lodges in some area of the victim's body, where it will eventually cause his death if it is not removed by a doctor who possesses the Medicine required to counteract its influence.

754 It is significant that the method of witchcraft as related by an eagle doctor
756 would have as its principle ritual an eagle plume which is prepared and utilized
825 in such a manner as to make it as much like an eagle as possible: It is placed very high in a tree, and it is attached to the tree in such a manner that it will be able to move freely and naturally at the motion of the wind. This follows from

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 N06 Comanche N06
Oklahoma

the imitative and sympathetic mystical rapport an eagle doctor possess with his supernatural patron, the eagle; and it suggests that possibly this method of witchcraft is, or was, in the form of a special Medicine solely possessed by doctors with eagle power and that doctors who possessed a different supernatural patron would also possess different method of witchcraft. The emphasis on prayers to the sun is also relevant.

The Symptoms of Witch Sickness

Sanapia feels that the symptoms exhibited by an individual who has been witched are unmistakable. Such a person feels tired and listless and is unable to retain food. He wants to sleep continually and usually suffers from fever. The unique symptom of witchcraft, according to Sanapia, is excessive perspiration on the top of the victim's head, perspiration which the victim cannot feel and which can be felt only by a doctor possessing the proper Medicine. She believes that this localized fever is caused by "foamy stuff" which accumulates under the skin surface at the top of the head. The foamy stuff is, in turn, caused by the magically toxic witch's feather. Also occurring are symptoms which are very similar to the unilateral facial paralysis which appears with ghost sickness. In the case of witchcraft, however, the victim's eyes do not water, he does not salivate excessively, and the contortions of the face, hands, and arms occur in spasmodic fashion rather than the constant state of paralysis found with ghost sickness. In both cases the contortions of the face are felt to be caused by pockets of foamy stuff which accumulate under the skin.

Sanapia feels that ghost and witch sickness are the most difficult types of sickness to treat because both are essentially unnatural and malevolent. In contrast, pneumonia, for example, is a natural sickness which does not possess the supernatural tenacity of illnesses which are backed by the supernatural and malevolent resolve of a ghost or witch. Thus with ghost and witch sickness, Sanapia must not only cure the symptomatic effects of these illnesses but must also act to neutralize the malevolent supernatural power which is somehow contiguous with these symptoms.

Treatment of Witch Sickness

When Sanapia doctors a victim of witchcraft, she utilizes *tɔpinatsu*, *ekapokowa:pi*, *kusiwɔna*, her Medicine feather, glass slivers, charcoal from the peyote drum, and her sucking horn. She prepares a thin paste of *kusiwɔna* and applies it to the area of the patient's body which she feels to be the place where the feather is located. *Tɔpinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* are deposited on live coals to produce medicine smoke which is wafted over the patient to induce healing.

The procedure begins before sunrise on the first day of treatment when Sanapia makes her morning prayers to the rising sun. She begins treatment proper when she feels all conditions to be favorable. Exactly what criteria Sanapia uses

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

754 to judge when the time is right to begin treatment would be difficult to outline.
755 A good portion of such a feeling would naturally be highly personal. Some condi-
756 tions which would be negative influences on Sanapia's decision to begin treat-
787 ment might be barking dogs, the sudden appearance of visitors, an infant's crying, or a sudden change of weather. Sanapia would consider barking dogs or a sudden change of weather as negative omens. The appearance of visitors or the crying of an infant would simply be distracting to her.

754 When she initiates treatment, she first prays over the patient and fans
755 smoke produced by the *tapinatsu* and *ekapokowa:pi* over him. After her first
756 prayer, in which she calls on her powers to assist her, she takes her charcoal
[782] medicine and draws a circle around the area on the patient's body in which she feels the feather is located to prevent the feather's escape to another area of the body. Next, she makes several incisions in the area of the circle and applies a thin paste of *kusiwana* over the incisions. She then fans her medicine smoke over this area and begins her attempt to suck the feather from the patient's body.

As blood, sucked from the area of incisions, collects in her sucking horn or in her mouth, she deposits it on a white paper plate which she keeps near her. The entire procedure of cutting, applying medicine, fanning, and attempting to remove the feather by suction continues until Sanapia has removed the feather or has come to the conclusion that her powers are not sufficient to cure the patient. When and if the feather appears in the plate of blood she shows the plate to the patient, or the patient's parents, and pronounces him cured; and, after giving the patient a final blessing, the treatment is completed.

The word "appears," when used in connection with the removal of the witch's feather, must be understood in a special sense. Sanapia does not state that she removes a real feather. She reports that the Comanche words she uses when exhibiting the plate of blood to the patient after the "removal of the feather" means that the effects of the feather have been removed. She feels that the witch can project the evil potential of the plume into the body of the victim, though the feather itself is not magically injected into the vitcim. Sanapia doctors to alleviate the physical symptoms which result from the magically injected malevolent essence of the eagle plume utilized in the act of witchcraft. This notion of transmitting the essence of an object into a person was mentioned in the discussion of Sanapia's doctoring of ghost sickness. During her doctoring in the specially arranged peyote meeting, Sanapia attempted to transmit the pliable qualities of the wet drumhead to the patient's face. She also applied the stone peyote drum "bosses" to the patient's face so that, through her powers, the positive qualities of these stones—firmness and stability—could be injected into the patient's contorted face to heal him. Just as Sanapia attempted to inflict positive powers from their source to a patient, so could she use her powers to inject negative essences of an object into an individual. But what is the particular malevolent essence of an eagle plume which can be utilized to witch? As we discuss the manner in which Sanapia conceptualizes the nature and cause of human illness, the answer will present itself.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

Concepts of Illness

Sanapia employs three basic notions as foundations in her conceptualization 753
of the nature of illness. The first of these may be stated: Things in rapid and erractic motion or rapid and erratic motion itself are intrinsically dangerous to the human body. It is pertinent that Kardiner (1945:66) mentions that the Comanches thought of diseases not as material objects but as kinds of insects, living things, which had somehow gotten into the body.

The second of these basic ideas is that virtually all human physiological malfunction is caused by the swelling of certain body tissues, liquids, or specific organs; and the third of these conceptual foundations is that illness in the human body manifests itself materially in the form of a toxic liquid which has its center of production in the immediate area of the abnormal swelling or which is the cause of the swelling in the body of the sick individual. In the majority of cases this threefold scheme can be stated: Something moving rapidly or erratically in the body has caused an area of the body to become swollen. This swollen area is producing a toxic liquid which, if removed from the body, will relieve the symptoms of the illness. The cause of the illness is destroyed by the supernatural power of Sanapia or by the medicines which she has endorsed with extraordinary potential.

In Sanapia's description of the execution of the final stages of witchcraft, 753
she made great note of the necessity of using an eagle plume which must be 751
prepared and attached to the tree branch in such a manner that it will be free 237
to dance and flutter with any breezes that should contact it. She also gestured rapidly to depict how the plume would react to the wind when she described the plume's placement in the tree branch. The reason why a feather is not used is that it would not move properly in the wind. The erratic movement of the plume is essential in witchcraft. In addition, the magical feather, upon entering the body of the victim, moves rapidly over the body, and it is only after Sanapia has magically surrounded it by enclosing it in a circle of charcoal that the feather's movement is made impossible.

Sanapia describes an extreme form of insanity as that state in which the 753
affected individual usually twitches, jerks, and "runs around crazy." Then again, 828
when describing the whirlwind guise of the ghost, she made the point that the 775
whirlwinds move around very quickly and erratically. When she describes the 825
behavior of poisons injected by certain insects and poisonous spiders, she states 827
that this poison, upon entering the body, turns into "eggs" which race wildly 201
over the body. In sign language, Sanapia indicates "sickness" by a rapid, quivering movement of the hands over the chest area. This sign for sickness is noted for the Plains area generally by Tomkins (1926:51). More examples could be listed; however, I am attempting to state several slightly different circumstances in which rapid and/or erratic motion, or some variant of this theme, was considered in a definitely negative manner when considered in the context of its relation to the human body. Thus it can be seen that the malevolent essence

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

753 of the witching feather which is injected into the victim's body is rapid and erratic motion.

The notion of swelling is included in practically every description of illness which Sanapia relates. It is also significant that one of her major medicines is *bekwinatsu*, or swelling medicine. In Sanapia's opinion, ghost sickness, pneumonia, rheumatism, asthma, headaches, vertigo, constipation, and a number of other human complaints have swelling as their central pathological core. As stated previously, the swelling is either produced by or produces a toxic liquid, usually referred to by Sanapia as foamy stuff, which by its nature expands in the body. It is this liquid or the swelling that produces this liquid, which causes the symptoms of illnesses such as those just mentioned, but not the illness itself. The foamy stuff, the only tangible and manipulatable manifestation of illness, is removed from the body by the *puhakut* by suction or by being driven out.

753 Sanapia states that she never removes an object from the patient's body
755 claiming that she has removed the sickness, although she remembers that her mother did this. Sanapia feels that she cures by removing the poison, or foamy stuff, present in the patient's body and by using her supernatural powers to assure that through her prayers the patient may live a long and healthy life. In other words, the supernatural or unknown causes of the patient's illnesses are banished through her prayers.

751 Sanapia describes a healthy body as one which possesses a balance and
753 calm throughout all its tissues, liquids, and organs. When something causes this balance and calm to be disrupted, sickness results. Some foreign agent moving in a rapid and erratic manner through the body is definitely unsettling to the body's parts. Swollen areas displace tissues, organs and body liquids, also unsettling the body balance. Foamy stuff irritates the body generally.

753 Sanapia is persistent in her comments that she never actually removes a
754 real feather from the body of the victim of a witch; however, she states that
755 most Comanches who come to her for this treatment believe she does.

> They ain't got no power . . . never learned them ways, so how do they know? They can think what they want to think. I get them well, or their little baby. That's what they come here for, and I do it so they can believe what they want. If it makes them happy, let them think what they like. I don't care about it myself.

From Sanapia's description of the doctoring of the witched victim, it can be seen that she does not exert herself to make him, or his parents, think any other way about the reality of the feather in his body. In other words, she never reports that there is not a feather in him, and all her behavior during the treatment only lends support to the patient's belief that there is a real feather present in his body.

754 Another aspect of the *puhakut*'s treatment of witchcraft victims is sug-
755 gested by Kardiner (1945:67). He writes that Comanche doctors were able to
756 identify the individual responsible for the witching during the treatment of the one who had been witched.

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

With regard to Sanapia's niece's child, Sanapia said that she knew who had witched the girl but did not tell the mother for fear of frightening her. Sanapia does not suggest that any supernatural talents are involved in the ability to identify the witch. Since Sanapia believes that witchcraft can only be operated by those with a high degree of *puha*, the field of possibilities is immediately narrowed. She evaluates the community in which the witch's victim lives and, through a process of elimination, selects the witch. She does not make her choice known for fear of frightening the victim or his parents, as has been mentioned, and also because she feels that if her accusations are made public, it would only cause further dissension among the Comanche people. She feels that there is enough tension among the Comanches without adding accusations of witchcraft.

The Contemporary Situation

This chapter has dealt with Sanapia's treatment of a victim who has been witched by the magical insertion of the malevolent essence of an eagle plume. Sanapia doctors also among the Wind River Shoshone, southern Cheyenne, southern and northern Arapaho, Kiowa, Kiowa-Apache, Ponca, Creek, and Fort Sill Apache, as well as the Comanche; and thus she has confronted cases of witchcraft other than the variety which has been described in this chapter. Her general approach to a cure, however, is similar in all cases. She feels that the body of the victim has been put out of balance by some tangible or intangible entity; therefore, to correct the abnormal condition, she works to remove that which is causing this physiological disequilibrium.

Given the antagonistic feelings beween the northern and southern Comanches and the fact that patterns of witchcraft exist, it would seem that there would be a high rate of intergroup witchcraft, at least being directed by the northerners. This does not appear to be the case, a major reason being that the southerners generally do not respond. They consider witches and witchcraft merely superstitious beliefs, or, at best, nonexistent in modern times. A further possible explanation of this lack of intergroup witchcraft is the special distribution of the Comanche bands—the more traditionally oriented bands cluster in the north and northwest of the Comanche area while the more fully acculturated band members are found in the south and southwest. There may be as many as 40 miles separating members of these two groups. Therefore, there is no necessity for daily social interaction between members of the opposing "tribes," which could reduce the generalized hostilities to more intense and socially unsettling personal conflict, thus better facilitating the desire and the opportunity for the execution of witchcraft.

Witchcraft among contemporary Comanches is mainly intergenerational. Older men and women, feeling their life power fading, turn to malevolent magic in an attempt to augment their failing social prestige and to defend themselves against the more vital younger generation. The few cases of witchcraft which I was able to investigate among the Comanches followed this general pattern of essentially intergenerational jealousy and tension. This was also the basic

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

578 754 561 rationale for witchcraft, especially between males, in the nomadic Comanche culture. In a society which emphasized physical prowess, the old and enfeebled were at a definite disadvantage. The older men could not join the younger in the 754 prestigeful activities of war, sexual adventuring, and hunting, and they were 561 therefore forced to turn to magic and supernatural means if they desired to con- 554 tinue their futile attempts to compete for social power and prestige with the 558 younger men of the tribe. Since Comanche culture was not oriented to allow an 578 individual to acquire prestige and position through material acquisition alone, this avenue was also denied the older men.

Factors in the Decline of Witchcraft

754 178 561 556 578 Perhaps a factor contributing to the lessening incidences of witchcraft, noted by Sanapia even in her own time, can be attributed to the fact that in the post-reservation period the older men of the tribe were able to acquire a certain economic power through such channels as land allotments and welfare, while at the same time the younger men were being denied their main traditional avenue to prestige—war. Thus a more tolerable balance developed between the prestige and social power levels of the young and the old. The woman, whose social position rose and fell with the male to whom she was attached, also acquired the benefits of this postreservation phenomenon. A woman could own land like a male, and with older women this became an attraction to the younger men, men perhaps born too late to take full advantage of the land allotments. Therefore, an older and economically more powerful woman could more successfuly compete with a younger woman for available males.

754 178 561 844 578 However, neither economic power nor supernatural methods can cause a woman to produce offspring after she has reached a certain advanced age. In a moment of anger or spite, a young Comanche woman's invectives directed toward an old woman will inevitably include a caustic reminder to the older woman of her "uselessness" as a woman. Sanapia and many of my female Comanche informants mentioned the potential dangers which a young woman exposes herself and her children to when she flaunts her offspring in front of an older woman whose children have left her. This, in Sanapia's opinion, is the reason for the high degree of witched infants and why Sanapia immediately accuses an old woman for the act of witchcraft.

754 178 571 361 Several other factors can be suggested as relevant to the decline of Comanche witchcraft. With the allotment of lands the various family units within the same band became more isloated and thus any possibility of an act which could motivate an individual to operate witchcraft against another member of that band became lessened as relatively forced social proximity, as was the case in the reservation period, became lessened among band members.

754 178 887 888 As the band's economic function was destroyed, the individual family units were compelled to become more independent. Thus, the older members of the Comanche extended families were necessarily allotted tasks as more jobs had to be handled by a smaller number of individuals. In this manner the older people

31: Jones E-5 (1967-1970) 1972 NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

served a valuable function to the group and were therefore able to retain a certain amount of prestige. Another factor which no doubt contributed to the raising of the prestige of older Comanches and therefore to the decline in witchcraft was the influence of Christianity with its stress on respect for the aged.

The suggestions which I have offered and which I feel are necessary for an understanding of the relative insignificance of witchcraft among contemporary Comanches are all ultimately rooted in the dynamics of acculturation. Witchcraft has disappeared as an effective means of social control among Comanches as its function has become obliterated by the changes brought about by acculturation with the dominant white society. Nothing served to directly replace the institution of Comanche witchcraft. This type of institution became meaningless as the very foundations for its existence were destroyed by the acculturative phenomenon which served to augment, equalize, and temporally lengthen, through essentially economic means, the levels of social power and prestige obtainable by all Comanche individuals.

32: Gilles O,X-3 (1902-c.1910) 1974
NO6 Comanche NO6
Oklahoma

government and the several interested tribes, which finally resulted in the opening of the Comanche, Kiowa, and Caddo reservations to white homesteading. Many Indian leaders protested the agreement after their own interpreters had explained it to them. They maintained that Joshua Given (the same one mentioned in one of the letters to General Pratt at Carlisle), who was the son of the deceased Kiowa Chief Satank, had translated their demands to the commission inaccurately and had falsely represented what the written agreement contained.

In great rage, the Indian leaders made medicine to bring about Joshua Given's death, as well as the demise of the commissioners. Making an image to represent Given, they threw mud at it. The fatal seizure would take hold where the mud hit the image. The mud struck the image in the chest. On his way home from the council, Joshua Given was stricken by a hemorrhage from the lungs, and shortly thereafter he died.

When old Indians told this story, they had the members of the commission following the young Kiowa in death. At any rate, history bears the old ones out as to the untimely death of Joshua Given.

Some of the Indian leaders decided to take their grievance to their Great White Father in Washington. Choosing their own interpreter this time, they told their story to Grover Cleveland. President Cleveland assured them that their land would not be taken from them during his administration. Their trip delayed the opening of their land for homesteads for nine years. But in 1901 the Jerome Agreement was implemented. Each Indian then living was allowed an allotment of 160 acres. This represented the Indian's individual share of the once great empire, Comanchería. The white man got the rest.

When they had had such experiences, the older Indians were bound to have certain suspicions of Charley Ross, with his numerous white man's ways, white man's language, and friendships with white men. But he was devoted to the old fellows and had their respect. One symbol of the links he kept with them was the braids he wore, even though he wore a hat and his hair was scanty. I remember having thought of the braids as affected. But finally age and observation taught me better. The older Indians all wore their hair in braids, and these were the people he must stay close to so that he could help them.

He had other bonds with the old fellows besides his braids. He had a wife who spoke no English. He was fulfilling a Comanche tradition by caring for his wife's parents. Mrs. Ross's father, Mi-he-suah, lived